

Message Text

SECRET

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46

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FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 662

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ACCRA 0182

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DEPARTMENT PASS AS DESIRED

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR AO GH

SUB: LETTER FROM GHAIKMAN ACHEAMPONG TO PRESIDENT FORD

REF: STATE 1377

THERE FOLLOWS THE TEXT OF A LETTER FROM CHAIRMAN ACHEAMPONG TO
PRESIDENT FORD, DATED JANUARY 8, DELIVERED JANUARY 9,
IN RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER CONTAINED IN REFTEL.
ORIGINAL BEING POUCHED JANUARY 10 TO S/S UNDER
REGISTRY NUMBER 1913537

QUOTE:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT

IT IS THOUGHTFUL OF YOU TO SHARE YOUR VIEWS ON THE ANGOLAN
SITUATION WITH ME THROUGH YOUR LETTER OF 3 JANUARY, 1976 WHICH
AMBASSADOR SHIRLEY TEMPLE BLACK KINDLY PRESENTED TO ME.

I AM EQUALLY OF THE VIEW THAT AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE IN AFRICAN
AFFAIRS WE SHOULD LEAVE NO ROOM FOR MISUNDERSTANDING OF OUR
RESPECTIVE POSITIONS, AND IT IS THUS WITH FRANKNESS AND IN A
SPIRIT OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION THAT I NOW PRESENT MY
THOUGHTS TO YOU ON THIS ISSUE. IT IS MY FERVENT HOPE THAT
THE VIEWS WHICH I OFFER WILL WEIGHT VERY GREATLY WITH YOU IN

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THE FUTURE POLICIES AND CONDUCT OF THE UNITED STATES OF

AMERICAN IN AFRICA.

THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE HAS BEEN WAGED INTENSELY SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR. IN THIS STRUGGLE, WHATEVER HER PARTICULAR OBJECTIVES, THE SOVIET UNION HAS CONSISTENTLY TENDERED HER MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT. WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE HISTORICAL FACTORS THAT HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO OFFER SUCH SUPPORT. BY THE SAME TOKEN WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE CONSTRAINTS, LARGELY BASED ON HER ALLIANCE WITH THE COLONIAL POWERS, THAT HAD PREVENTED THE UNITED STATES FROM GIVING ACTIVE SUPPORT TO THIS STRUGGLE. YET WE HAVE ALL ALONG ALSO RECOGNISED THAT AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONARY ANTECEDENTS MAKE HER PEOPLE SYMPATHIZERS OF OUR CAUSE AND NATURAL ALLIES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.

AS A GLOBAL POWER I FULLY APPRECIATE THE CONCERN OF THE UNITED STATES WITH EVENTS IN AFRICA, AS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, THUS WE CONSIDER YOUR ANXIETY OVER THE UNSTABLE SITUATION IN ANGOLA AS LEGITIMATE. GHANA HOWEVER DOES NOT SHARE YOUR CONCLUSION THAT THE SOVIET UNION IN CO-OPERATION WITH CUBA ARE TRYING TO IMPOSE A GOVERNMENT ON THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA BY FORCE OF ARMS.

BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA HAVE BEEN HELPING THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF ANGOLA IN THEIR LIBERATION STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE FASCISTS FOR A VERY LONG TIME, AND GHANA AS A MEMBER OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE, HAD ADVOCATED FOR AND SANCTIONED THIS SUPPORT. IT WOULD NEITHER BE JUST, CORRECT, NOR EASY FOR US TO LABEL SUCH SUPPORT TODAY AS INTERVENTION. HOWEVER, THIS MUST NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN OUR DEPARTURE FROM A CARDINAL FOREIGN POLICY POSITION THAT NO FOREIGN TROOPS MUST REMAIN ON AFRICAN SOIL. IT IS OUR VIEW, A VIEW MADE MANIFESTLY CLEAR TO THE GOVERNMENTAL DELEGATION OF THE MPLA WHICH VISITED GHANA RECENTLY, THAT AS SPEEDILY AS PRACTICABLE SUCH FOREIGN PRESENCE MUST BE REMOVED FROM ANGOLA. IT IS EQUALLY OUR POSITION, ALSO MADE CLEAR TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA, THAT NO PERVASIVE FOREIGN INFLUENCE SHOULD BE ALLOWED IN THE TERRITORY NOR SHOULD STRATEGIC FACILITIES OF ANY KIND BE PERMITTED A FOREIGN POWER, SINCE THIS WOULD BE INIMICAL TO THE INTEREST OF AFRICA

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AS A WHOLE AND OFFER TEMPTATION TO OTHERS TO COUNTER SUCH PREFERENCE.

AS YOU ARE AWARE, GHANA HAS DONE HER BEST IN SUPPORT OF THE OAU SPONSORED EFFORTS TO BRING THE WARRING FACTIONS IN ANGOLA TOGETHER. THAT THIS HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE UNTIL NOW HAS NOT BEEN FOR WANT OF EFFORT OR GOODWILL. BUT OUR OWN HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE, THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND THE PRESENCE IN THE

ANGOLAN SITUATION OF RECOGNIZABLE ACUTE DIVISIVE FACTORS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR TO US THAT IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO CONTINUE TO HOPE FOR A COALITION GOVERNMENT OF EQUALS DRAWN FROM THE MPLA, FNLA AND UNITA. FURTHERMORE, IT WAS AN UNTENABLE POSITION TO MAINTAIN THAT A SOVEREIGN STATE OF ANGOLA EXISTED BUT WITHOUT A RECOGNIZABLE GOVERNMENT. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCE, AND AFTER A VERY CAREFUL EVALUATION OF EVENTS, WE CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE ONLY WAY TO END THE FRATRICIDAL WAR AND TO ENCOURAGE RAPID RECONCILIATION WAS TO GIVE GHANA'S RECOGNITION TO THAT MOVEMENT WHICH, IN OUR CONSIDERED OPINION, WAS MOST INCLINED TO PROMOTE THE INTEREST OF ALL THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE, MAINTAIN THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE AND POLITICAL NEUTRALITY OF ANGOLA, AND WHICH HAS BOTH THE CAPACITY TO ASSERT AUTHORITY OVER THE TERRITORY AND DEMONSTRATE MAGNANIMITY IN RECONCILING WITH THE OTHER MOVEMENTS.
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 663

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AS FAR AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN AGGRESSION IS CONCERNED, GHANA CANNOT ACCEPT FOR AMOMENT THE IDEA OF ANY SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATE OF ANGOLA. IN THIS ERA OF ENLIGHTENMENT IT IS UNTHINKABLE TO CONCEIVE THAT THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF ANOTHER STATE CAN BE VIOLATED IN SUCH A MANNER. APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA HAS NO INTEREST TO SAFEGUARD IN ANGOLA AND WE FIND IT UNTENABLE TO LINK SOVIET AND CUBAN SUPPORT FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF ANGOLAN FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE WITH THE INVASION AND AGGRESSION STAGED BY A NATION WHICH IS THE ACCLAIMED FOE OF ALL AFRICA. LET ME STATE VERY DELIBERATELY THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S AGGRESSION IF NOT TERMINATED IMMEDIATELY COULD LEAD TO A CONFRONTATION WITH TROOPS

FROM INDEPENDENT AFRICA.

MR. PRESIDENT, WRITING TO YOU AS A FRIEND AND THE RESPECTED LEADER OF THE GREAT UNITED STATES, I WOULD LIKE TO STRESS THAT NO AFRICAN STATE HAS BECOME A SATELLITE OF ANOTHER STATE UPON ATTAINMENT OF INDEPENDENCE AND NO FOREIGN POWER CAN CLAIM TO HAVE ALL-PERVASIVE INFLUENCE OVER ANY INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATE. THE HISTORICAL LESSON SHOULD BE CLEAR: INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES WOULD SEEK FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION FROM ALL QUARTERS BUT NOT SERVITUDE. WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING THEN, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE OVERLY INFLUENCED BY COLD WAR FACTORS AS TO ANTICIPATE SOVIET PREDOMINANCE IN THE NEW ANGOLA. RATHER, ITS ROLE SHOULD BE TO SUPPORT THE LEGITIMATE ANGOLAN GOVERNMENT AND TO USE ITS ENORMOUS INFLUENCE TOWARDS RECONCILIATION AND PEACE UNDER THE BANNER OF THE MPLA. IF SUCH A COURSE IS PURSUED, I AM CERTAIN THAT GOODWILL
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AND FRIENDSHIP WILL FORM THE BASIS OF ANGOLAN-US RELATIONS FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. AND THIS, BELIEVE ME, IS THE SINCEREST WISH OF GHANA.

YOU CAN REST ASSURED THAT OUR RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA GOVERNMENT IS NOT AN END ITSELF. THE GHANA DELEGATION TO THE OAU SUMMIT MEETING ON ANGOLA WILL WORK ACTIVELY FOR A SOLUTION THAT WILL LEAD TO THE EVENTUAL REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA, FOR THE INTEGRATION OF ALL FACTIONS INTO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, AND FOR PEACE IN THAT TROUBLED LAND.

LET ME REITERATE MY APPRECIATE OF YOUR THOUGHTFULNESS IN OPENING UP SUCH CORRESPONDENCE WITH ME, AND TO EXPRESS THE TRUST THAT THROUGH SUCH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, WHICH I HOPE WOULD CONTINUE, WE WOULD BE ABLE TO SERVE NOT ONLY THE INTEREST OF OUR PEOPLE BUT CONTRIBUTE OUR SHARE TO THE EVOLUTION FO A WORLD OF PEACE, FRIENDSHIP, AND PROSPERITY.

YOURS SINCERELY,

COL. I.K. ACHEAMPONG
HEAD OF STATE AND CHAIRMAN OF
THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL.

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